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IN our issue of last week we indicated our belief that imperialism and counter-revolution were staking all on a last desperate throw in Russia before winter set in; already the indications are that they have failed. If there remained in the world one person who still cherished the belief that the day's news bore any relation to the day's facts, he must have been disillusioned by these most recent Russian occurrences. During the past month we have been treated to a new drum-fire of fictions manufactured largely in those centres of veracity, Copenhagen and Stockholm. Denikin has been plunging forward from the south; Kolchak rolling on from the east; and Judenitch, the latest hope of democracy, triumphantly marching in from the northwest. On October 15 he routed the Red forces near Petrograd; on the 18th he was in that city; on the 19th he gripped Petrograd, and the end of the Reds was seen; on the 20th the city again fell; on the 23d the battle for the city went on; on the 24th both sides were silent on the Petrograd battle; on the 25th Trotzky mobilized all the men of Petrograd, throwing in a few women for good measure. Trotzky's staff were all captured while he fled in a motor car, and, most wonderful of all, Lenin was taken, according to a Honolulu dispatch prominently displayed on the front pages. To our gratification we note also that Russian rubles, which had been degraded to 3.90 on September 20, rose from 5.25 on October 17 to a high point of 7.25 on the 22d.

ON the 27th the Associated Press announced from London that the chances of Judenitch's capturing Petrograd before winter "seem again to be fading," that he was being defeated at several points, that the possession of Kiev was being bitterly disputed by the Bolsheviki and Denikin, and (real news) that according to a government statement in Parliament "Great Britain is no longer supplying funds or supplies to Admiral Kolchak and does not contemplate supplying General Denikin indefinitely." The adventure is too expensive and has apparently reached its end. Meanwhile Isaac Don Levine again cables *The Chicago Daily News* that the power of the Bolsheviki is only strengthened by external attacks and that no matter what happens to them the Soviet will endure. In reply to five questions submitted by Mr. Levine, Lenin over his own signature declares that the Soviet Government is prepared to prove that it represents the majority of the Russian people; that it stands unwaveringly on the peace terms agreed upon with William C. Bullitt; that it is willing to guarantee absolute non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries; and that it is decidedly for an economic understanding with all countries, "but especially with America." Cold, naked, starving, dying, Russia clings to an idea, while the Allied Governments fight that idea with the sword and the blockade, and the Government of the United States ostentatiously washes its hands in presence of the multitude. The French workers have resolved that they will manufacture no more arms or supplies to make war on their Russian brothers, and our Pacific Coast longshoremen have taken the same position. Yet the imperialist war on Russia goes on.

ONCE more we are told that the long-planned loan to Admiral Kolchak is about to become a reality. The amount is to be $50,000,000, of which the United States is to furnish $15,000,000, the rest coming from Great Britain and possibly from France. According to earlier announcement, Baring Brothers represent the English group, and Kidder, Peabody & Co. the American. These thrifty gentlemen wisely require the Omsk Government to deposit collateral, probably in the form of gold, with some responsible institution in an Allied or neutral country, and it is said that only a commercial credit is intended, no public offering of bonds being planned. This loan, despite the respectable character of the banks making it, is nothing less than the deliberate financing of murder. If the responsible lenders do not by this time know something of the actual situation in Russia, it is their own fault. They are lending their money in order that added thousands and possibly even millions of Russians may perish by war, starvation, typhus, and all the plagues that can afflict a destitute and helpless people. No matter what political and economic heresies may flourish among the Russians, the question has now become simply this: Shall we be further party to organized murder wrought on them? The demonstration is complete that the various anti-Soviet movements could not survive for a month without foreign money and supplies, and that our governmental policy of war and starvation has served only to drive the Russians to support the existing Bolshevist rulers.

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THE latest American commissions of investigation in Turkey have declared themselves against an American mandate over all of Turkey, or over Armenia alone. If an Associated Press dispatch from Constantinople is to be believed, the commission headed by General Harbord, after nearly 10,000 miles of journeying about the interior of Turkey, has decided that America's task lies closer at home. This decision is interesting in view of the fact that General Harbord's departure in August was hailed by the correspondents as the début of the future American Governor General of Constantinople and Armenia. On the heels of this announcement comes the news from Paris that Colonel William N. Haskell, High Commissioner of the Supreme Council to Armenia, in charge of American relief work in the Near East, is reported to be firmly opposed to the mandate. All Americans who are unwilling to become enmeshed in the Near Eastern tangle, even though such action gives us opportunity to cast lots for the garments of the defeated empires, will rejoice at the common sense and good judgment displayed by our investigators.

TWO or three points emphasized in the recent Conferference on the Anglo-American Tradition of Liberty deserve more than casual notice. Perhaps the most striking is the one concerning an international governmental system of espionage directed toward the suppression of radicalism. It is a sinister kind of internationalism, subversive of the liberties of peoples. The days of political asylum are past. Nowadays, when the American secret service is suspicious of an American radical living in France, he is secretly arrested by the French authorities and delivered into the hands of his compatriots—witness the case of Robert Minor, quietly spirited away from Paris and turned over to the American military authorities at Coblenz. The French and British, the British and American Governments, exchange similar courtesies. Hindus offensive to the British Government have been held for deportation from the United States; and it is conceivable that Irish revolutionists might fare badly at our hands were it not for the size of the Irish vote. We deport a group of anarchists, and simultaneously our secret service cables a warning to their mother country, in order that they may be arrested on landing. This team work is no mere survival of the inter-Allied coöperation which might have been defended during the war as necessary to Allied success; for within a week after the signing of the peace treaty an English journalist was secretly arrested in Berlin at the request of the British authorities. Our late arch-enemy is already a member in good standing of this underground "league of nations."

IT would really be foolish to expect governments to eschew the methods which have been found so efficacious during the war. There is a widespread disaffection among the masses. In Russia an entirely new conception of government is being tested, under enormous difficulties—a conception so radical in its departure from the accepted theory that Western Powers dare not allow it a free opportunity to win or lose on its merits. Everywhere there are signs of popular discontent with the existing system of things, under which a devastating war comes at least once in the life of every generation. The enormous burden of post-war taxation will augment this discontent. In short, the period of reconstruction, which has already had stormy beginnings, promises to try the various governments to the uttermost. The war afforded them an opportunity to test and prove repressive measures; it accustomed peoples to grave restrictions upon their liberties; it brutalized the public conscience and rendered it indifferent to the maltreatment of dissenters from the popular opinion. That ground so easily gained by the governments is not lightly to be yielded is indicated by the general tendency to carry over into the time of peace repressive laws designed to be effective only for the period of the war. The challenge to democracy is clear. It must take up anew the struggle for freedom, and the battle, if it is to be successful, must be waged on economic as well as political grounds; it will be the struggle of peoples against a firmly entrenched internationalism of privilege.

BECAUSE of present inflated prices more attention is likely to be attracted than would otherwise be given to the Argentine Government's proposal for world-wide free trade in food. Foreign Minister Pueyrredon, according to newspaper dispatches, has submitted to the representatives of other Governments at Buenos Aires a memorandum proposing free import and export of rice, frozen meat, cattle on the hoof, wheat, flour, fruits, milk, butter, barley, oils, fowls, eggs, canned soups, fish, salt, and vegetables. As a great food-exporting country, Argentina would stand to gain in her capacity of producer from the free exchange of such products; but the hungry millions of the world's industrial population would be the great gainers from the proposed measure, which is recommended by every consideration of humanitarianism and economic common-sense alike. Argentina's sensible proposal should receive sympathetic consideration and support all over the world.

NOTHING sounds so much like a return to peace as the news that Sir Thomas Lipton has again challenged for the America's Cup. It takes one back to idle summer days in the Paleozoic Age of five years ago when there were no questions of war and reconstruction to harass us, and when there was nothing to do but earn a living five and a half days a week and go to baseball games, horse races, or regattas on Saturday afternoons. Sir Thomas Lipton's challenger is already on the ground—literally so, since she is laid up at Erie Basin, New York, and can soon be made ready and slipped into the water. The Shamrock IV came over in 1914 to try for the cup, but the outbreak of the war led to the cancellation of the proposed races. America also has her defenders ready. Three yachts—the Resolute, the Vanitie, and the Defiance—were built for the races of 1914, but the last-named proved a disappointment and was withdrawn. The Resolute won a majority of her trials against the Vanitie, but had not been officially designated as the cup defender when the races were called off, so that the contest is likely to be reopened. Although the yachts are ready on both sides, the crews are still to be found, the war having scattered much of the old-time material on both sides of the ocean. With us, the rise of our new merchant marine gives added zest to the contest—the first since 1903—and there should be no lack of sailors. So yo, ho, ho, for another cup race! But there can be no bottle of rum. Had Sir Thomas succeeded in lifting the cup earlier, he might have taken it home filled with whatever he liked. Now he will have to be content with water—or a brew of his own tea. And, of course, there may be nothing for him to take home. It may again be shown that there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the Lipton.

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"A Covenant With Death"

WE confess to being but mildly interested in the parliamentary battle which has been going on in the Senate over the peace treaty. We care comparatively little whether the treaty is amended or modified by reservations. We desire only its complete rejection. For this we have many reasons. The first and foremost of them is that we are devoted Americans and therefore must look with abhorrence upon any proposal to dishonor America. And just this is what the treaty does. Over the signature of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, we pledged the nation's honor to the Germans and their allies to make peace upon the Fourteen Points and then in Paris forgot them, flung them away, acted as if they had never been. It is the same Mr. Lansing who has testified publicly that after his arrival in Paris as peace commissioner, he never heard the Fourteen Points mentioned. We are aware that to many of our fellow-citizens this seems a smart Yankee trick; that there are many who say that all is fair in love, war, and armistices; that the miserable, deceitful Huns got what they deserved. That may or may not be true. Nevertheless our love for our country is so great, our devotion to her honor so ingrained from our earliest breath that there is no alternative left to us but to protest with all the power and earnestness that we can command against any attempt at her dishonor. We called the treaty the "Madness of Versailles" when first it appeared in print; we have never swerved in our belief that if this infamous document is ratified we shall sink to the position of moral degradation that the Germans occupied the day they crossed the Belgian boundary and made of their treaty a scrap of paper.

It would be easy to write a further indictment of this conglomeration of cowardly compromises; it is easy to show that it violates almost every dictate of humanity; that it flies directly in the face of history and of justice; that, for only one example, in forcing the Shantung wrong-doing upon China, it goes contrary to racial instincts and common decency. But it is not necessary to go on. Our first reason is enough; no one shall ever say of *The Nation* that it consented to its country's dishonor—or that it would compromise upon that subject. We are aware of every deprecatory argument that is leading men to connive at this wrong—do we not for our sins read the metropolitan newspapers?—and to say that treaties are compromises at best; that poor Mr. Wilson is not to be blamed, since he played a lone hand and was cheated and beaten by the sharpers who sat about the table with him; that the treaty is wretched, of course, but that we must take it and make the best of it. It cannot be enforced, these persons say, in its worst aspects; the Reparations Commission, we are assured privately by one of the highest American officials who was at Paris, will within six months of the ratification of the treaty do away with the injustices and wickedness which he admits exist in that document. We will have none of this. There were certain Abolitionists during the anti-slavery struggle who correctly enough averred that as long as human slavery was protected by the United States Constitution that document was nothing but a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." We shall be no party to a document which invites a new hell of future wars, which covenants not for peace but at this moment for death—death in Russia, death in Poland, death in a dozen different places.

So there is nothing left for us but to record with gratification the steady turning of public opinion against the treaty as its revisions are weighed and discussed. Why do we believe that if the American people knew and understood what this document implies it would be withdrawn overnight? Because of our unswerving faith in the sound judgment, in the integrity, in the honesty, in the justice of the mass of the American people, in their essential nobility, in the inviolate righteousness of their instincts. To lose that faith would be to lose faith in humanity itself, and of that we are not capable. That the truth is percolating becomes evident day by day; the opposition grows stronger hourly in and out of the Senate. Mr. Lodge essays reservations which are tantamount to amendments and insists that they shall be agreed to by four other nations; there are signs that he is not far from voting against the whole treaty, and himself becoming one of the "irreconcilibles." Could the debate be prolonged till the end of the year, we believe the treaty would be defeated; it may yet be, though we attach little importance to the threats of Senators Hitchcock, Williams, Underwood, and others to slay the creation of their party's leader if the reservations pass. It is the politician's way to compromise at the last and it is this spirit of compromise that the upholders of justice and honor have most to fear. Nevertheless, it has been a profoundly encouraging sight to see men who turned against the treaty at first merely for partisan political reasons, or out of a petty spirit of narrow nationalism, finally beginning to glow with the white heat of moral indignation. They have talked little if at all about the moral iniquities of the treaty, yet something beyond themselves has got hold of them. Had it been true, as the metropolitan dailies would have us believe, that they have had no other motives than base partisanship or personal spite against Mr. Wilson, they must have grown weaker and not stronger. Some of them have unconsciously espoused a cause greater than they knew and it has gradually lifted them above themselves. For this we are profoundly grateful.

But what do you offer? And how can you ask us to throw over the League of Nations before it is tried? Should we not take it and make it over for the hope there lies in it? We hear these questions asked for the thousandth time and we repeat: "It is not for us." We cannot believe that a League of Nations conceived in the iniquity of Paris and born of unblushing imperialistic sin can make for the reform of a guilty world, especially when its operation is to be entrusted to the men who betrayed the aspirations of the multitudes everywhere at the very moment they pretended to hear their voices and to dream their dreams. The first thing is to defeat the treaty; the second to declare a separate peace with Germany, a separate peace of no annexations and no punitive indemnities, with our hands unstained by the Shantung wrong, the Saar Basin, the dismemberment of the Tyrol, the further blockade of Russia; the wronging of Hungary, the total degradation of Austria; the third thing is then to move for a real democratic union of the peoples of the earth, simple, straightforward, free from any complications with the existing treaty; the fourth is to give our credit, our enthusiasm, our wisdom to the salvaging of all the nations of Europe, without an hour's loss of time.

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What Must We Do to Be Saved?

THE industrial conference has collapsed. Nothing else was to be expected. The President summoned a group of capital Bourbons and labor Bourbons (we do not mean, of course, to apply these terms to all members of the conference) and bade them make peace for the public good. They assembled, wrangled for two weeks, showed conclusively what we knew in advance, namely, that they cared primarily for their own interest rather than the public welfare, and departed, leaving the labor situation far worse strained than when they assembled. On the specific issue that split the conference, that of collective bargaining, both groups were hopelessly wrong. In effect, the employers fought successfully against permitting a man's employees in negotiations with him to be represented against his objection by anyone outside his employ. Their contention, which was given decent burial in England a full half-century ago, is unqualified industrial autocracy. Mr. Gompers and his associates, on the other hand, tried vainly to commit the conference to the principle that employers may not bargain with their employees except through the agency of organizations associated with the American Federation. This is straight-out labor monopoly. The claims of both sides should be squarely repudiated.

But the entire discussion was little more than the chatter of troglodytes in the industrial stone age. Both sides were on absolutely the wrong track. Each was trying to get what it could out of the other, not to give what it could in service to society. The conference was a quarrel over the division of product. It was therefore foredoomed to failure —the culminating failure of our system of industrial warfare. We are now likely to lapse yet farther into industrial chaos. Witness the longshoremen's strike, the New York printers' strike, the steel strike, the impending coal strike, and the threatened railroad strike, to mention only a few outstanding cases.

> Industry needs no truce, no compulsory arbitration, no provisions for the postponement of disputes. What it needs is confidence and a courageous forward movement, supported by the constructive genius of both sides in common counsel. Industrial peace must come, not as a result of the balance of power with a supreme court of appeal in the background. It must arise as the inevitable by-product of mutual confidence, real justice, constructive good-will.

We quote from the constitution of Britain's Building Trades Parliament, one of the real experiments, whose aim is not a "permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen," but "a new and better industrial order." Movements like this are based on the idea that the dominant need of today is for production. The industrialist's task is to discover the material and human conditions of abundant production at low human cost. In the language of the modern economist, we must insure the best possible utilization of land (natural resources); the continuous creation and the wise use of steadily improving forms of capital (tools, machinery, buildings, and equipment of all kinds); and the intelligent, enthusiastic cooperation of the two human elements in production, labor and management. How may this be accomplished?

The question was answered broadly in a notable memorial submitted to our ill-fated industrial conference by a group of well-known industrial engineers. Harrington Emerson, H. L. Gantt, L. V. Estes, Clinton H. Scovell, Walter N. Polakov, G. Charter Harrison, C. E. Knoeppel, L. W. Wallace, and Carle M. Bigelow—these are no "mere theorists," but men qualified, as their memorial states, by "constant contact with the problems of modern industry to speak collectively and with authority concerning industrial competence." They declare:

> The prevalent unrest in industry results from a system which permits the acquisition of wealth for which no adequate service has been rendered and tolerates special privilege with the resulting exploitation of men, women and children. Great powers have been used arbitrarily and autocratically to exact unmerited profit or compensation by both capital and labor. This policy of exacting profit rather than rendering service has wasted enormous stores of human and natural resources and has put in places of authority those who seek selfish advantage regardless of the interests of the community. To remove these evils and to secure the conditions that will promote further economic development we must:
>
> 1. Eliminate all unfair privilege of employer or employee, and make business and industry fulfill their responsibilities to the community.
> 2. Free all industries producing socially necessary commodities or supplying public service from selfish or incompetent autocratic control.

The principle of organizing industry for service, and making private income serve as a stimulus to production, ploughs deep. Rent from land ownership, interest from capital ownership, profits from industrial management, and wages from the performance of labor—each form of private income must be fearlessly examined in its actual operation to determine how far it serves to stimulate production, and how far it is simply a charge on industry. So far as it is only the latter, it must be relentlessly cut off through just and orderly voluntary or legal process. The newer forms of industrial organization are attempts to accomplish that result; they are not efforts to evolve a compromise between inefficient, quarreling laborers and capitalists.

For they recognize the fundamental psychological fact of the present situation. With the rise in the cost of living still outrunning the increase of pay for all except comparatively small minorities of those who live by their work, and with huge profits yet accruing to favored individuals and groups, only to be passed on in the form of rents and interest on securities as permanent burdens on the industry of the future, the workers, with hand and brain alike, are coming to realize that incomes too often bear almost no relation to service rendered. Believing this, laborers are refusing to work hard to produce profits for employers, as they frankly state. Their ideas may be exaggerated, their conduct from a conventional point of view morally wrong; but their state of mind is a fact, and that fact is an insuperable obstacle to efficient production. That state of mind can be changed only by removing the causes that give rise to it, namely, special privilege and autocratic control. That is the meaning of the newer Anglo-American industrial movements—the Plumb plan, the Building Trades Parliament, the organization for mine nationalization on both sides of the Atlantic, the genuine shop and industrial council undertakings. The discerning student may not approve each and every one of these movements in detail, or even in economic principle, but he will perceive emerging in them all the spirit of production for service. This is the central necessity; this we must do to be saved.

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BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE
BEREA, OHIO

The Tiffany Foundation

THE Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation may well become a great national asset. Not only will its endowment of over a million dollars play a handsome part in the service of the Foundation, but the gift of Mr. Tiffany's house, Laurelton Hall, at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, of his grounds, and of his art collections insures to the new institution a home notable at once for beauty and good taste. Most important of all, however, is the idea which lies at the basis of the entire scheme. Some time, perhaps, Anglo-Saxon countries will make some proper national provision for the training and encouragement of artists, but they have not yet done so, and private wisdom and generosity must be depended upon. In such a case, too much emphasis can hardly be laid upon the fact that the founder of the new institution is himself an artist, and as such peculiarly able to judge what is most needed to assist his fellow in the profession. So far as the plans for the Tiffany Foundation have been announced, they seem thoroughly well advised. They include a museum to help foster "art education directed both to art appreciation and production within the scope of the industrial as well as the fine arts" and a sort of school, or rather colony, for artists who, having already shown some capacity, may devote their time to working freely together in "sympathetic and inspiring surroundings"—something after the manner of the colony maintained at Peterboro by the MacDowell Memorial Association.

The danger of such an arrangement is, of course, always that a spirit of dilettantism may grow up behind sheltering walls, but this danger is actually of small importance as against the genuine advantages. For this is not a scheme to subsidize some favored clique or school, but to offer the chance of an art education to men who want that more than anything else. It is merely absurd to say, as is so often said, that beginners in all the arts do better under the pressure of self-support. Such a pressure may develop the character; but an artist needs something besides a character, valuable an item as that is. Such a pressure is of particular benefit chiefly to those who must be taught by hard blows what it is that the public wants. But for those artists who work long and passionately for self-discipline, and self-expression, in order to find and catch and utter new beauty, the rough-and-tumble of competitive society is almost always a curse. It is in part for this reason that artists have generally tended to do their best work in friendly groups. Thus traditions of technique are not only handed down from master to pupil in the atelier, but are often enriched by the association of coevals. American art has undoubtedly suffered from the paucity and weakness of such groups, qualities due more or less to our lack of geographical unity and of outstanding art centres. The growth of such admirable schools as the Chicago Art Institute and the Art Students League in New York has done much; but there still remains a most important service to be rendered by less formal, less academic institutions for art education—institutions which shall bear something of the same relation to the ordinary art schools that the New School for Social Research bears to the universities. A fine and gifted artist, who has already done much for American art, has thus done even more, and the nation's gratitude should be as great as its indebtedness.

Altruistic Expurgation

THOSE jocose members of the school board in Leonia, New Jersey, who recently brought fresh fame to their suburb by ordering that the pages dealing with socialism in Professor David Saville Muzzey's history of the United States be torn out of the copies of that book used in the Leonia High School, remind us of the story of Mohammed and the two of his wives, one old and one young, who differed in their notions of what constitutes beauty in a husband. The younger plucked from his beard each white hair she found there, and the older every hair that looked too brown for a man of Mohammed's age. Perhaps the school board of Leonia, with its fine feeling for moderation in all things, will see something touchingly Hellenic in the behavior of these good Arab wives. Each of them stood firmly against the falsehood of extremes, that their combined efforts might keep Mohammed in a sound, hearty middle age. It is well enough, we can imagine the school board of Leonia saying, to have been young once, but now we must put away all childish things; of course we shall all be old some time, but let us keep as long as possible in our perfect prime. In fact, the whole episode has philosophic bearings that are very important, to say nothing of the light it throws upon the education, character, methods, and purposes of the Leonia school board.

But we are even more concerned with the practical bearings of such performance. It opens up a world of avenues for action in a trying time. With this example we can go out, all of us who hold sound opinions, on little raids of expurgation. It will offer us as good sport as that ancient custom of the Scottish border known as reiving, whereby rival clans ran off in the night with each other's cattle—each taking from the other what it thought the other should not keep. Literature is a miraculous domain for such marauding—a land of Cockaigne if ever there was one. After all, we need not stop at text books. There is Shakespeare, for instance, in whose "Troilus and Cressida" Ulysses makes such a mighty eulogium of an established order that our redder radicals ought to tear the whole play out lest oncoming youth encounter such doctrines and be corrupted. And there is Milton, that flaming rebel, who so opposes the laws of God and nature to the usurping domination of the state that he breeds insurrection in all who read him. The Bible, of course, will have to stay under lock and key if such reiving becomes a thoroughly popular sport, or it will—thanks to its variety of doctrines—suffer as sorely from the raiders as did eventually Mohammed from the affectionate attentions of his two wives. He became, as Herrick said in another connection, "as smooth and hairless as an egg." And the dictionary will never survive such onslaughts. Word after word will fall away, until nothing but things will be left in the universe. The story comes to mind of a teacher in an inland school who, before a class began the reading of a Shakespearean play, gave out a list of twenty words which she said were improper and should not be looked up by the children. The dictionary almost died of overwork. But the school board of Leonia is probably only improving upon the Biblical injunction about the offending eye or right hand; only, the school board of Leonia, as an altruistic body, prefers to pluck out somebody else's right hand or eye—the methods of Bowdler thus being used to apply the doctrines of the Bible.

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Race and Democracy in Latin America

By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

ALTHOUGH most of us here in the United States are too quick to assume that the American Indian was a rather objectionable fellow, with all sorts of picturesque but quite impractical customs, who is now represented largely by half-breed descendants, the American Indian is nevertheless a member of a race which could and should (and will) contribute much to that great world-state which all races of mankind are preparing to erect when the proper time comes.

The purpose of this article is to trace broadly the past and present status of the Indian in that part of our continent which we call Latin America. In Mexico, in all Central America; in Colombia, in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, in the remoter parts of western Brazil and southern Venezuela, and in the extreme south of the Argentine, the native race, totalling between sixty and eighty per cent. of the population, is still a "going concern." Consequently, those portions of the Western Hemisphere are part of that long series of countries where two or more races, each with its peculiar complex of material and intellectual culture, now live side by side, the native race having, in one way or another, been invaded and politically dominated by some outside race, usually that of Western Europe. The question of what is to be done about the situation thus created is one of the most important which the world will have to settle, not merely "sometime," but very soon. In the words of Maurice S. Evans ("Black and White in the Southern States," pages 1-3):

> Many signs and portents are in the air showing that among the many questions calling for solution, which are brought to the front by the rapidly changing condition of the world, that of the relations of the races hitherto regarded as civilized with those we are accustomed to consider backward will be the world-wide and important one. . . . Those who have assumed overlordship might be tempted to temporize, and will in fact probably do so, and only consider the question under pressure, but that pressure is not likely to be withheld for long. . . . For, all the world over, the colored races are beginning to realize themselves and to press for answers to questions that have hitherto been evaded. . . . The issues thus raised may be divided into three classes:
>
> 1. The relations between Europeans and (principally) Asiatics as independent states.
> 2. The government of tropical dependencies in which the white man cannot make a permanent home, such as the West Indies and the greater part of Africa.
> 3. Countries with a climate and surroundings suitable to European family life, but with a large population of a backward race, as South Africa, the Highlands of East Africa, and portions of Northern Rhodesia.

The question of race relationships is, therefore, of world importance. Obviously the Latin American countries named above fall into the third of Mr. Evans's three categories. The two other categories are equally vital, but it is their good fortune to have received a greater amount of consideration than the third—the Montagu-Chelmsford report on policies in India, the participation in the war of Siam, Japan, and China, and the careful study by many people of colonial questions in general, all attesting to the truth of my statement. Therefore, we may concentrate our attention upon conditions in Latin America.

Though everyone realizes that we have long had an embarrassing situation on our hands as regards Mexico, a situation which has by no means been brought to a satisfactory conclusion (or, indeed, to any conclusion at all), very few comprehend how much of the trouble we have experienced is due to racial factors. The population of Mexico can, with absolute correctness, be stated to be predominantly Indian. In the days before 1519 (when Cortez and Spanish power entered the arena of Mexican affairs) Mexico had long been the seat of a rather high civilization. In Yucatan and Guatemala the people belonged to the Maya and associated stocks; their government, though of the feudal and autocratic type, had, up to about 1200 A. D., been a good one; their art and intellectual accomplishments were admirable. In Mexico, up to about the end of the twelfth century, a stock known by the name of Toltec maintained a similar culture of equal excellence. About 1170, however, rude, warlike, sanguinary, and turbulent folk invaded Mexico from the north, and imposed their rule not only upon the dwellers in Central Mexico, but also upon the Maya and other folk far to the south. These conquerors were the Nahuas and the Aztecs. Their function in history was much like that of the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire. Though their religion was repulsive and bloody, and though their national passion was war, much good lay hidden under the bad in Aztec society. When the Spaniards came they were so horrified by the manifest evils of the native government that they were unable to perceive, much less to utilize, the excellent governmental and agrarian institutions of the Aztecs, institutions which might easily have been made to serve their ends, just as the analogous Hindu institutions of India have been made to serve British ends. Consequently, the system of clans, the system of common agricultural lands, and the admirable administrative machinery of the Aztecs were thrown into the discard by the Spaniards, who clamped down their own form of government upon a people quite unfitted to be benefited by it.

The Diaz régime in Mexico inspired superficial minds with a false sense of progress and security. There was a vigorous suppression of the unrest of the turbulent-spirited Indian masses coupled with what we should now dub a camouflage of urbanity and polish on the part of the official and aristocratic classes. The combination was outwardly so successful as to cause many to assume that Mexican society was solidly rock-ballasted. Don Porfirio Diaz had had his days of democratic aspirations, but he had learned, in the midst of official responsibilities, that democracy is a plant which will not bloom in the arid soil of ignorance and degeneracy. To enrich the soil of Mexico's sociological desert is just what the newly risen school of Mexican sociologists seeks to do.

Don Manuel Gamio, who is the head of the ethnological bureau of the Mexican Department of the Interior, proposes to accomplish his purpose of preparing the Mexican masses for democracy by these means:

> 1. The acquisition of information regarding the racial characteristics, the material and intellectual culture, the languages and dialects, the economic situation, and the effects of the physical and biological environment of the past and present regional populations of the Republic.

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2. An investigation into the methods for improving the present economic, physical, and intellectual development of the said populations.

3. The preparation for a drawing together of races, for a cultural and linguistic fusion, and for the economic stability of the said groups of the population which only by these means will be able to form a coherent nationality.

When this series of studies has been carried out, the Mexican Government will have at disposal accurate information as to the sort of people whom they rule and as to the best means of making those people truly self-governing in the sense that the people of the United States are self-governing. At present the Mexican masses are not self-governing. The Porfirian system, because of the sheer personal strength of Diaz, succeeded in glossing over social miseries and injustices of the worst sorts. At the time of the revolution against Spain, most of the old nobility of the country remained loyal to the Spanish cause and withdrew to the Peninsula on the declaration of independence, leaving a large empty place at the top of the social pyramid. As a result of this sudden vacuum, many persons, whose antecedents were of the humblest description, scrambled up the social structure, and some of them seated themselves firmly on its summit, while others had to put up with less lofty places. Those who gained place and power in this way presently set about building up landed estates of almost ludicrous size, won, of course, at the expense of the common people whose common pasture-lands were confiscated shamelessly. The overgrown agrarian paternalism which then grew up was thoroughly malevolent in character. No attempt whatever was made to benefit or comprehend the Indian and mixed-blooded peasant classes. Furthermore, the Government of the Mexican Federal Republic consistently refused to acknowledge the existence within its borders of various small nationalities or ethnic units of widely different cultural accomplishment and of divers aptitudes for modern civilization. Naturally, intense regional hatreds and sectional wars have resulted, for the trouble which has kept Mexico in a turmoil ever since the fall of Diaz has been neither more nor less than the outward manifestation of long pent-up irritations between ethnic elements equally misunderstood and constantly abused by the central government. Not until either the Mexicans themselves or some disinterested outside force acting on their behalf takes up the task of definitely terminating the racial friction between whites and Indians, and between the various groups of Indians, will Mexico again see peace permanently established. It is the racial situation which is the crux of the whole matter. Other factors, such as the oil business, only make use of the racial conditions to add to the tumult; they are not the primary causes of the tumult itself.

In South America, particularly in the Andean countries (Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia), circumstances are different. In that region, at the time of the Spanish conquest (1532-1541), a powerful and civilized empire had long been supreme over many stocks and tribes. Beginning about 1100 A. D., the Inca tribe of Cuzco had gradually built up for itself, by means of gathering together the remnants of an older civilization, an empire which, by about 1450, extended from what is now Ecuador down to the central part of Chili and into northern Argentina. The Inca administration stands in sharp contrast to the Aztec for the reason that it tended to use reason and diplomatic blandishments rather than brute force in the welding together of its dominions.

When Spain imposed her rule upon these mild and disciplined people she failed to perceive in the existing governmental mechanism a means of ruling them wisely and well. Instead, the paternalistic hierarchy was taken over by the Spaniards simply as a means of oppressing the Indians and of wringing every possible ounce of work out of them. The land (which had been held either in common or for the use of the Government) was divided up into holdings of various sizes, each bearing with it the labor of the Indian inhabitants. Tribute, both in the form of work and in that of money payments, was rigorously exacted. The natives, accustomed to yield blind obedience to all who possessed or claimed to possess authority, dwindled rapidly in numbers under the load of oppression. They were without friends or protectors, for their own chiefs, usually through marriages or other alliances, came to be identified largely with the conquerors, and the Church was as venal an oppressor as any, though now and then some saintly cleric or devoted friar did what he could to swim against the tide. Not until 1780 did the goad of misrule sink deep enough to drive the Indians of the Andes to revolt. At that date began a series of revolutionary movements which culminated some forty-odd years later in the establishment of independence, for it did not take long for the mixed-blooded and creole elements of the population to perceive that their grievances against the Spaniards from Spain (who formed the official class) were identical with the grievances of the Indians.

The old nobility of the Andean countries differed from that of Mexico in its attitude toward the revolution against Spain. Most of the leaders of the struggle for independence, notably Bolívar y Palácios in the North and San Martín in the south of South America, as well as José de la Riva-Agüero in Peru, were men of good birth and education, much like our own revolutionary leaders in many respects. They represented the land-holding aristocracy of the continent; yet they were in the forefront of the fight for liberty. To increase and intensify the tendency toward constructive benevolence must be the aim of sociological reform in the Andes. To bring the Andean masses into step with the march of progress, the same sort of study of them must be made that Gamio is making of the Mexican population.

The land-owner who seeks conscientiously to make the dwellers on his estate happy and self-respecting and sturdy peasants, like those of many parts of Europe, will be doing his country an inestimable service. He will be rewarded by an ever-increasing satisfaction in the good work which he does, and by an augmented productiveness and laboriousness on the part of the cultivators of his soil. Presently, after the improvements thus brought about have existed two or three generations, the Andean masses, from being a proletariat as degraded and unintelligent as any in the world, will become a society equal to the best, both in ideals and in achievement. The potentialities are there, for the past history of the Andean peoples proves them to have a latent ability for progress and organization. The task which faces the rulers of the Andean countries is that of bringing out the latent powers of the people and making them actualities.

Indications that this will presently be done are by no means wanting. It is true that in the mountains the situation is predominantly as I have described it to be, but on the coast one often finds a large land-owner, usually a young man of good family who has been educated in England or in the United States, who is already putting into practice such

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policies as those just mentioned. On one such estate, not far from Lima, the Indians live in pretty concrete houses gay with flowers; they cook their food over good oil stoves, using a fine public cold-storage room for their meat supply. The women, because ample provision for water has been made, keep the houses and the children clean and sweet. Basket-ball and other sports have been introduced by the owner of the land, just as the well equipped primary schoolhouse has been. Though these reforms and others have been in existence only a few years, the contrast between the people on this estate and those on neighboring ones, where old-fashioned conditions still prevail, is astonishing.

The war has taught us that every race in the world is capable of holding high ideals and of contributing in greater or less degree to world civilization. Democracy is making its way even among the most humble branches of the human family, but, in order that democracy, in contrast to insensate proletarian tyranny, may be made to prevail, steps must be taken to make all peoples sane and intelligent. Here, in the southerly three-quarters of our own hemisphere, it is essential that the Indian race be brought, by such means as have been described, to the highest possible development, so that they may become true participants in one form or another of real democracy.

New Jersey's Latest Industrial Experiment

By PAUL STUDENSKY

NEW JERSEY is to have a Joint Industrial Council, with representation from organized labor, organized employers, and the general public of the State. In the course of the past eight months the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce has held four conferences at which representatives of the employers, leaders of organized labor, employee delegates from shop committees, and students of industrial problems have discussed representation in industry, with special reference to shop committees. At the third conference, in March, a need was felt for an investigation of the subject, and a resolution was adopted calling upon the Bureau of State Research (supported by the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce) to undertake this work. In the course of the investigation, which lasted about six months, it became apparent that the operation of shop committees is largely dependent upon the relationship which they work out toward labor unions. Special emphasis was, therefore, laid upon this phase of the problem. The systems were classified into three types: those devised as substitutes for unionism, those planned to be neutral on the union question, and those combined with unionism.

A report was prepared setting forth the conclusion that the substitutes, or "company unions," as they are frequently called, increase industrial unrest; that the neutral shop-committee systems are "beneficial especially in the industries in which labor is little or not all organized," but are "unstable in that they eventually become either anti- or pro-union"; and that the eventual solution of the shop-committee movement lies in the combination of unionism with shop committees. Recognition of unions was recommended wherever proofs were submitted to the employer that a large proportion of his employees were unionized, the recognition to be granted on the ground that the workers have the right to be represented by whomsoever they trust, and that it is better to grant it in this way than to let it be settled by a strike. Readjustment by employers as well as workers of their respective associations and unions in such a way as to "enforce democratic procedure and responsibility all along the lines of their respective organizations and develop a spirit of coöperation" was urged. The idea was set forth that the greatest value of shop-committee systems lay in their power to train the workers and the management in the task of joint control of industry. A plan was developed and recommended for the establishment of a Joint Industrial Council for New Jersey.

A conference, the fourth, was called on September 17 to consider the conclusions presented in the report. The discussion, in which Governor Runyon, the president of the State Chamber of Commerce, the president of the State Federation of Labor, representatives of employers and employees, and other students of industrial problems took part, evidenced a unanimity of opinion in favor of the programme proposed. The plan for the establishment of the Joint Industrial Council was introduced in the form of a resolution by the Governor and was adopted without a dissenting vote. A resolution introduced by the president of the State Federation of Labor—calling for the appointment of a committee to be composed of two members appointed by the State Federation of Labor, two by the Manufacturers' Association, and three, representing the public, by the State Chamber of Commerce, to put the project into effect—was also unanimously carried. The plan provides for a Joint Industrial Council composed of fifteen members, five of whom will represent the business interests of the State, five the workers, and five the general public, as follows:

a. The five representatives of the business interests: four members appointed by the Manufacturers' Association of New Jersey, representing the industries of the State; one member appointed by the State Board of Agriculture.

b. The five representatives of the workers: five members selected by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, each representing a union affiliated therewith, one of whom shall be either the president or secretary of the State Federation of Labor.

c. The five representatives of the general public: the State Commissioner of Labor; one member, appointed by the Governor, who shall be especially familiar with industrial problems; one member appointed by the New Jersey League of Municipalities; one member appointed by the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; one member elected jointly by the five representatives of the business interests and the five representatives of the workers.

The Joint Industrial Council will convene monthly or more often, if necessary. It will discuss current industrial events, gather information, make investigations, and issue recommendations to its respective constituencies; and, whenever called upon, it will arbitrate on industrial controversies.

The State Chamber of Commerce has ratified the plan. The State Federation of Labor at its convention in Atlantic City on October 1 took similar action. The Manufacturers' Association has also approved the project. All the parties to the project are agreed that it ought to be voluntary. No legislation is desired. No legal power is sought. It is looked upon as an experiment, the strength of which will lie in the good will which it may build up. If it fails in this, no compulsion can maintain it.

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Foreign Correspondence

Bulgaria Faces the Future

Sophia, August 28

ECONOMICALLY Bulgaria has not suffered so greatly as might be expected. Sophia has a prosperous look, but financially things are in bad shape. The leva runs more than thirty odd to the dollar instead of five. Danev, the Finance Minister, who represented Bulgaria at the London Conference after the first Balkan war and at Bucharest after the second, estimates the national debt at 12,235,000,000 levas—quite a tidy bit for a country that has only about 5,000,000 inhabitants. Danev said he hoped to be able to pull Bulgaria out of financial difficulties if the indemnity to Serbia were not fixed at too high a figure. [The Allies have since asked for an indemnity of $500,000,000.] The Bulgarian budget is now 1,200,000,000 levas in expenditures, and 1,000,000,000 levas in income. New taxes, he hopes, will meet the deficit. The condition of the railways in Bulgaria is rather better than that in any of the neighboring countries, but owing to the practical state of blockade still existing, transportation difficulties are very great.

I think, from what I hear, Bulgaria faces the same difficulties of doing business with the outside world as its neighbors. In the first place, the question of exchange, the thirty levas to the dollar, as compared with a normal five, is a huge obstacle to export. Then the Government itself is over-controlling both imports and exports, and has fixed artificial rates of exchange so that merchants can work on the basis of the actual rate only at the risk of being punished. There is tobacco and rose oil for exportation and some grain. But I was told the red tape and the conditions on which export permission would be given were so onerous that exports of these much-sought-after articles did not flow as they should. Our motor oils are competing here with those of Rumania and beating them all out. A tax on war profits has already been enacted.

Land legislation of any consequence has not been passed since the armistice. Bulgaria is already a country of small landed proprietors. Kolarev, the communist leader, said his party proposed a law to reduce all holdings to ten hectares. I suppose the average Bulgarian holding is not much greater than this. The following laws are to be proposed in Parliament:

1. The public lands to be partitioned among the few landless peasants, with provisions for the working of the land on a coöperative basis.
2. Land credit banks.
3. Agricultural schools (some already exist).
4. Control of rivers.
5. Laws for improvement and government backing of cooperative associations already in existence. The chief strength of the agrarian party, which is the ruling party of Bulgaria, lies in connection with the building up of these coöperatives. More than seven hundred agricultural credit coöperatives already exist; some thirty consumers' coöperatives, and some four producers' coöperatives. Three of these last are dairy associations. The land credit coöperatives have over 80,000 members which, reckoning five per family, means that 400,000 persons are represented in this membership. Dragiev, Minister of Agriculture, tells me that he wants laws passed which will practically make all the cooperatives part of the state, and which will enable him to open branches in every village, to be devoted not only to material ends, but also to cultural and educational purposes.

Bulgaria, among the Balkan states, is perhaps the most literate, showing a percentage of eighty. Primary education is compulsory up to fourteen years of age and child labor is forbidden under that age. The proposal in the next session of Parliament will be to make secondary education compulsory; that is to say, the sub-gymnasium, equivalent to lower classes of our high-school, will be both free and compulsory. Then the whole rather old-fashioned system of the gymnasiums is to be overhauled and simplified. Trade schools and schools of commerce and agricultural schools are to be increased in number and improved in quality. Higher technical and professional schools scarcely exist in Bulgaria, and there is no intention to create them.

These are all plans, although laws to carry them out are already on paper. But one good thing that the new Government did at once, back in January, I believe, was to raise the salaries of teachers. As in our country, teachers were a sadly underpaid lot. In the elementary schools the lowest salary formerly was 120 levas monthly. Now the salaries run from 230 to 500 levas monthly. In the gymnasiums salaries ranged from 250 levas monthly to 350. Now they are 350 to 800 levas. The budget of the Ministry of Education now is 100,000,000 levas, while before the war it was 6,000,000 levas and last year it was only 39,000,000 levas.

I might add a few words as to prices. Sophia stands, in this matter, about on the level of Belgrade. Meals can be had at about sixteen levas and rooms at about twenty-five to thirty levas in the best hotels. In American dollars at present rates of exchange these prices are very low. But for Bulgarians they are inconceivably high, more than ten times what they were before the war. But this is not due to scarcity. There is no real scarcity now, although last winter and spring this scarcity did exist. Meat, vegetables, milk, butter, cream, everything can be had in quantity. But the depreciation of the leva causes a good deal of the trouble. It will be a long time before prices drop. Wages, which run as high as twenty-five levas and more a day, will have to come down too.

In the matter of the reduction of the army, I asked the War Minister, Magarov, whether Bulgaria would disarm in accordance with Allied commands. He said that already it had only 45,000 men under arms, the minimum needed to keep order in present troublous times. [The peace terms accepted by Bulgaria since this letter was sent allow an army of only 20,000 men.] I do not know how reliable this statement is, but Magarov is one of the most reliable members of the Cabinet. He was always consistently friendly toward the Entente and suffered a great deal for his political convictions.

Finally, I took the trouble to look into the question of Bulgarian treatment of the Jews. Bulgarians have always been liberal in this matter. Recently their liberality has grown enormously, a bit ostentatiously in fact. Every party put a Jewish candidate on each of its election lists during the last elections, rather far down the lists, it is true, where he stood little chance of election. The communists, however, elected two Jewish deputies, Haim Pesanti from Vidni and Abram Jacov Albochar from Burgas. How much of a service this achievement was to Jewish well-being, whatever it may have been to that of humanity, is another question.

HENRY G. ALSBERG

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Afternoon-Mood

By MAXWELL BODENHEIM

The afternoon cast its wide nimbus
Over the drowsily saintly hills.
The pine-trees stood, almost motionless,
Like stern and green-robed thoughts, fallen asleep.
Insects hummed their thin symphonies
And birds, inquisitively merry,
Flashed their happy circles through the air.
Wild-flowers were sprinkled here and there
Like colored tear-drops left by unseen sprites,
And over all the sun hung
Like an immensely startled, friendly eye. . . .
Thus, with sleepy grace
My love for you awaits its evening.

Literature

For Business Statesmanship

The Politics of Industry. By Glenn Frank. The Century Co.
The Six-Hour Day and Other Industrial Questions. By Lord Leverhulme. Henry Holt and Company.

MR. GLENN FRANK was not the first to discover that "the real center of social authority" has shifted "from politics to industry," nor was he the first to take hold of the implication involved in that shifting of authority—namely, that the men in control of the business and industrial processes of the nation exert a greater influence for good or evil than the men at the political helm of the Ship of State. When one contrasts a Lord Leverhulme, say, with a Judge Gary one can see, in concrete terms, how great is the power for good or evil that resides in the decisions of the leaders of business and industry. It is easy enough to speak of individuals being enmeshed in what we vaguely, but none the less familiarly, refer to as a "system," but though that may be largely true of the undifferentiated mass, individual men and women in strategic positions have it in their power to create another "system" than that which we so pathetically accept; have it in their power to push forward or pull backward. Even if Mr. Frank had not troubled himself to assure us that it lies within the power of twenty men in the United States to determine the course of industrial relations in this country for the next twenty-five years, Lord Leverhulme's experiment with the six-hour working day and the principle of copartnership has shown what power even one person may exert in the modification of a "system."

There is a theory known as "the theory of the class struggle" which has been accepted, by and large, wherever the conduct of employers toward their employees has given color to the assertions of the propagandists of that theory. And these same employers have loosely assumed that the propagandists and not they themselves have planted the theory in the heads of their workmen. Employers, as a rule, fail to understand that it is they who are the chief protagonists of the theory of the class-struggle, inasmuch as it lies within their power to deny or affirm the theory, not in words but in deeds. Lord Leverhulme, for instance, admittedly selfish as his motives are in the management of his several thousand workmen at his soap works at Port Sunlight, is giving concrete denial to the propagandists of the class struggle by blurring, to an appreciable degree, the lines between himself and his workmen. Judge Gary, on the other hand, is among those employers who insist on affirming the theory of the class struggle, not by propaganda, but by their attitude toward those whom they employ. And as is true of Judge Gary, so is it true of the greater number of employers in this country—that they could do much to decrease the amount of class divisions by submitting all matters of controversy to arbitration and adopting such a policy of "enlightened self-interest" as Lord Leverhulme has found so distinctly satisfactory—and profitable, too. By those rules of "enlightened self-interest" by which Lord Leverhulme has guided himself he has been led to introduce the six-hour working day and the principle of copartnership, of which two measures his book is a first-rate exposition.

In the long run, it is men like Lord Leverhulme who are preserving what is loosely termed "capitalism," and men like Judge Gary who are (unknowingly, of course) hastening the downfall of that system by sowing the seeds of hate in the hearts of their workers and preparing for retribution. Whether Judge Gary knows it or not, he is the ally of the revolutionist, whereas such men as Lord Leverhulme are contemptuously, but none the less respectfully, regarded by the revolutionist as enemies of the red Utopia, as "ameliorists." Were the employers of America truly concerned with making the most of the possibilities for service that their positions hold, they could, with the fell swoop of one generous determination, give the class-struggle dogmatists a blow from which they could never recover—and, at the same time, preserve the present system.

Mr. Frank notwithstanding, they have chosen, by and large, to take another course, or, where they have admitted a reform in the relation between themselves and their employees, they have done so in accordance with the Bismarckian policy of "defeating reform by accepting it." On the whole, recent events have shown how lamentably little attention has been paid to Mr. Frank's adjurations for conscious planning in reconstruction and how little his appeals have touched those anonymous liberals of the business world to whom his work has been addressed, or, rather, how few and far between they were and how powerless, therefore, to change the basis of the relations between "labor" and "capital." That leaders of the business and industrial world should need a Glenn Frank to write admonitions to them is, in itself, a sufficient commentary on the character of the average business man and, more pertinently, on the ground assumptions on which business and industry have been conducted.

Mr. Frank elucidates a theoretic business liberalism "that will restrain reckless radicalism" by calling for the formulation "and putting into effect [of] a programme bounded only by the frontiers of economic wisdom and practical justice." But the leaders of American business and industry, with a very few notable exceptions, have preferred to guide themselves, not by a programme of conciliation and concession, not surely by a programme of industrial democracy, but by the give and take of industrial warfare. "Nobody chose strikes and lockouts as statesmanlike and desirable instruments for the effecting of social change," Mr. Frank tells us. "They have been employed because, in the absence of industrial statesmanship, no other methods lay readily at hand with which workmen might exercise some measure of control over the conditions and reward of their work." That is why he believes it so necessary to wed "conscious plan to unconscious drift" for the purpose of achieving "the maximum of constructive result with the minimum waste of time and effort."

If Mr. Frank had needed an example to prove the profitableness of business statesmanship, he might have turned to the experiments of Lord Leverhulme.

Only that person who combines in himself the attributes of an English lord and a wealthy manufacturer may speak and write in advocacy of the six-hour day and the principle of copartnership without running the danger of being damned as a Bolshevist. He might, with a nearer approach to the truth, be called a far-sighted employer. And Lord Leverhulme makes claim to no other virtue, if such it may be called, than that of enlightened self-interest by which he has guided himself in the conduct of affairs at Port Sunlight. He has found that his innovations in industrial management have yielded a net return of increased profits and contentment among his workers, the latter of which is as valuable an asset as the more tangible increase in profits.

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There is something decidedly wholesome about Lord Leverhulme's frankness, especially when we consider the hypocritical assumption of benevolence by some of our industrial leaders. And it must be remembered that Lord Leverhulme did not yield to innovation as a means of necessary concession to his workmen, but initiated the six-hour working day and copartnership of his own free will, as experiments in the line of enlightened self-interest. He defends the six-hour working day on the negative ground that "prolonged hours of toil, with resulting fatigue, produce, after a certain point, actually smaller results in quantity, quality, and value than can be produced in fewer hours when there is an entire absence of overstrain or fatigue," and on the positive ground that "we can get into a working day of six hours all the work we are capable of when that work is monotonous—attending machinery and general work in a factory." Enlightened self-interest has also been the motive in the introduction of profit-sharing, or "prosperity-sharing" as Lord Leverhulme prefers to call it. Of the advantages of prosperity-sharing, from the employer's point of view, Lord Leverhulme says: "It would humanize our industries, it would make for brotherhood, and, above all, it would make the working man no longer antagonistic to Capital because he would be a capitalist himself."

India's Silent Revolution

India's Silent Revolution. By Fred B. Fisher, with the collaboration of Gertrude B. Williams. The Macmillan Company.

BY a silent revolution Mr. Fisher evidently means a rapid change in the religious, social, and political conceptions of the Hindus which has been going on ever since India came into contact with the West. That India is undergoing a revolutionary process is certain; but the time for its actual realization into a fact has not yet come. The Government in India, actuated by Imperial ambitions of a chauvinistic type, is doing all it can to hinder the process and delay the actual change. The British domination of India is an autocracy pure and simple based on military power and prestige. Prestige is almost a fetish with the Anglo-Indian. For the sake of prestige he is likely to do any outlandish act. Prestige dominates the school, the college, the court, and the council. In the name of prestige the bureaucratic rulers of India deny her people freedom of speech, assembly, and education. Nay, they go further and sometimes deny freedom of movement also. It is not rare that by executive order, under threat of summary punishment, the people are required to salute every Englishman regardless of his status and position. The Englishman is a god. His person is sacred, says Lord Chelmsford, and his prestige paramount. Nothing can be allowed to interfere with either. The whole system of government in India is permeated with this idea.

The other governing idea of British rule is that of economic gain. The military and the civil both cater to it. They advance it by all possible means. All legislation is subordinated to it. If therefore the political consciousness of the people of India is growing, it is in spite of all the efforts which the British are putting forth to prevent its growth. Mr. Fisher seems to be very sanguine about the results of the Montagu scheme for the reconstruction of the Government of India. He is anxious that India should not be forced by British neglect and apathy "to throw in her three hundred millions, with all their man power and resources, to become a pure Asian among Asiatics." By race, language, and culture India is more European than Asiatic, says Mr. Fisher. He sees danger in the Pan-Asia movement. "Asia's 900 millions or China's 400 millions, marshalled by Japan's more aggressive 55 millions, would constitute a formidable opponent to the 500 millions of Europe and the United States combined. In this alignment India holds the balance. . . . If blood really tells, there is no inherent reason why India should cast in her lot with Asia." The Pan-Asia movement is the creation of European aggression—of Europe's imperialistic, capitalistic exploitation of Asia, of her utter neglect of the human rights of the Asiatic people. The Asiatics have no desire to start a conflict with Europe, but the imperial governments of the latter seem to be determined to leave nothing undone to bring it about. We can see nothing in the British policy in India which gives any hope of Mr. Fisher's wishes being fulfilled. In any conflict between Asia and Europe, India will not and cannot unite with Europe as against Asia. The only way to avoid the conflict is by a policy of justice toward all Asiatic nations.

In the chapter on Fields and Factories Mr. Fisher has collected some very useful material. In spite of a glaring error as to the annual average income of an Indian (which is not $20, but $10) his description of Indian economic conditions is fairly accurate and realistic, though we cannot endorse his opinion that the British government is not responsible for the misery caused by the frequency of famines. The British have incurred that responsibility by destroying India's original industries, by neglecting education, general and technical, and by failing to encourage the development of modern industries. Britain has failed to do for the people of India what Japan has done for her own people, and the reason is obvious. She has drained India of much of her wealth; she has used her as a supplier of raw materials, or, in the words of Austin Chamberlain, as "a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the rest of the Empire"; and she has neglected the development of both the human and natural resources of the country. The huge mortality from famines and epidemics is a shame to any civilized government, and no amount of special pleading can exonerate Britain of the blame that attaches to her for this. Mr. Fisher's reflections on the existing conditions of the religious and social life of the people and the impending changes in them, are more or less of the usual globe-trotter or missionary type. While we admire his industry in collecting his materials, we can see nothing in them which would show a real insight into Indian problems and the way they are working out. The fact is that it is almost impossible for any European truly to appraise the religious and social life of the people of India. The country is too big, the people too many, the religious forms and formulas too symbolical and esoteric for the ordinary western mind to grasp. Generalization based on isolated experience or stray observation is never happy. It is more often than not misleading.

Three Women Novelists

A Woman's Man. By Marjorie Patterson. George H. Doran Company.

The Sinister Revel. By Lillian Barrett. Alfred A. Knopf.

Chan's Wife. By Jessie Anderson Chase. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

NOVELS come and disappear. They are whirled about for a moment by advertisements and literary announcements quite like autumn leaves. Then a sharper and more winnowing current of air scatters them and they are swept into quiet corners—attics or the bargain shelves of the old book shops. The sight of so much brief bravery and so much quick and dusty oblivion is not without its touch of pathos. But the process is usually quite just in its operation. The books that are swept out of sight and out of mind will be found to be books that tell us nothing that we, in our deeper selves, truly desire to hear or know. They are written by persons who lack the one indispensable gift—the gift of experience. With a hundred literary graces at their command they succeed in conveying nothing. The rough grain of life is not there, but some poor, impermanent, varnished substitute. In such books we neither find conscious elements of our experience intensified through their recognition in art, nor do we discover new elements that we can relate to the old.

It is the inner shallowness of so many current novels, the

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fact that they are tales told by people who have nothing to tell, that by contrast emphasizes the importance of Miss Marjorie Patterson's "A Woman's Man." It is far enough from being a great book. It is not at all an agreeable one. It is, unhappily, a rather exotic product. An American woman, however steeped in French life—and there can be no question as to Miss Patterson's saturation—cannot, after all, hope to compete with the novelists of France on their own ground. But her book is full of life to the very brim. Miss Patterson has the gift of both direct and vicarious experience to a very high degree. She has, indeed, all the qualities of the born novelist. She has the fundamental integrity of vision, as when she tells us that love's fulfillment "habitually estranges the man while the woman clings to him the closer"; she has a pervasive sense of all our tragic moments—the coming of age into a woman's face, the death of all his youth which comes home so piercingly to every man with the loss of his mother, the sudden, retrospective awakening to the futility of empty and colorless years. She has a constant and sure awareness of the spiritual echoes left by our sensations. She has, in consequence, a firm hold upon the decisive factor in the lives of highly organized people —the relentless transmutation of their sense experiences into spiritual values. Of this the average novelist, shuffling his labeled virtues and vices, each perfectly rigid and final, knows nothing. And it is the very complexity of her perceptions and the difficulty of communicating them that causes Miss Patterson, on one of her most solid pages, to complain of literature as "surely the dumbest of all the arts."

The story she tells (a story without a plot, of course) concerns the experiences of a French man of letters. Armand de Vancourt, after the manner of protagonists who tell their own story, is a rather dim figure. But Marie-Thérèse and Luce, Dr. Bonnet and Bernardette—though the latter reminds one of Daudet in his more sweetish moods—are superb creations. They are thoroughly felt and impressively projected. Miss Patterson knows these people to the least stirrings of their hearts and nerves and she communicates that knowledge completely. It will be interesting to see what thanks she gets from the public to whom she is making her appeal. The publishers, who deserve credit for recognizing the uncommon insight and vigor of Miss Patterson's work, are deftly trying to sensationalize it and moralize upon it in their announcements. That method, we fear, will not commend it to the seekers after sensation and will estrange the judicious. It is certain that Miss Patterson has only to treat native scenes and characters with equal ability to rise at once into the very front rank—a thin and scattered line—of American novelists.

"The Sinister Revel" is also a biographical novel concerning a man by a young American woman. Miss Barrett is in no respect the equal of Miss Patterson. But she, too, has frank and serious intentions and a seeing eye. The trouble is that she is not wholly detached from the endless millionaires' revel which she describes. In her innermost mind—despite or perhaps because of her many implicit protestations to the contrary —we suspect her of a hidden admiration for the dash and glitter and lawlessness of her ultra-fashionables. These things and people have not yet become sufficiently objective to her. She is still fettered to illusion by desire. And thence arises the slight quality of sensationalism that mars her book and that, once more, in order to win a kind of public favor, is unduly emphasized by the publisher's provocative "jacket." Why cannot American novels that are or strive to be veracious accounts of life do without the ugly commendation of a supposed salaciousness?

Miss Barrett, as a matter of fact, writes at her best with a hard and almost grim plainness and directness. Her account of Craig Van Dam's childhood and adolescence, as well as of his brief and lurid career at Yale, is uncommonly honest and exact. It is a very close and penetrating version of significant facts. It is with Craig's departure for Europe and his subsequent affairs that there enters the book an element of haste and external turbulence and sensational incident that robs these chapters of the solidity of the earlier ones. Miss Barrett does not stop to exhaust any of her situations, but seems fascinated by the mere speed with which she can hurry her hero through one enormity after another. Worst of all, she finally asks us to believe that such corruption can end in a permanent idyll. But the first third of her book is highly promising. With more objectivity toward her material and more inner repose of execution she should do interesting and admirable work.

Miss Jessie Anderson Chase's "Chan's Wife" is a well constructed and well written little novel which is almost pathetic in its extreme attenuation of substance. It affords an interesting contrast to the work of Miss Patterson and Miss Barrett. Miss Chase's people are all incurably "high-brow" in the strict and humorous popular sense. They talk colloquially enough (though you always feel it to be a condescension on their part), and Chan even has a ghostly little flirtation or two. But they never deviate into that human commonness (great and ill-used word!) which makes the whole world kin. They live entirely in the thin atmosphere which they have tacitly agreed to create, and neither love nor birth nor death nor any other creature has power to ruffle their muslin gentility. There are such people, especially among our impoverished and oppressed intellectuals. But the point is that when life grips them, those brittle and often half-hearted little pretenses do break down, the well-bred gaiety is darkened, and they act quite like common folk when longing or pain or estrangement knocks at their gate. Miss Chase, in a word, shares the most superficial illusions of her characters. She has not left their circle at all. She does not see them, with whatever sympathy, from the vantage point of art. And her failure to do this is highly typical of a basic fault in dozens of American novels, a fault which Miss Barrett has partly and Miss Patterson wholly left behind.

Drama

A Human Hamlet

FOUR fluted columns of olive-tinged gray with invisible capitals stretch in a semi-circle across the stage. About these the dun draperies change and melt gently into shape after shape, marking the rooms and halls and galleries of Elsinore. The abundant beauty of shifting color is furnished wholly by the costumes of the players. The columns remain even in the churchyard scene when between the two central ones there opens a vista of tumbled headstones, of an immemorial Celtic cross, and of two solemn poplars against a pallid sky. This whole imaginary world has a beauty that is full of sadness, a sadness almost eerie with the presage of imminent decay. It is shown us in the guise it must have assumed to Hamlet's vision. For his home had always been a prison to him, though like many prisons it was not without tender memories. But the scene of those memories had been darkened by haunting shapes and in the corridors of the castle there sounded the dull echo of the tread of doom.

The Hamlet of Mr. E. H. Sothern's impersonation who moves amid these scenes on the stage of the Shubert Theatre has achieved a final escape from the remoteness and confusion into which the problem-mongers had driven him. He is free at last of all false eloquence, all posturing, all undue consciousness of self. He is a young poet, probably a minor poet with more temperament than power. His position and the feebleness of his impulse have kept him from a complete dedication to his studies and his art; but his culture is fine and a trifle sophisticated and even at thirty he prides himself a little upon his superiority to the rude and physical manners of the Danish court. He had always been lonely there. He admired and loved his father. But he idealized him too completely ever to have known him well. The queen was not without the natural instincts of a mother, but she was restless, passionate, and perverse. So the little lad had played with the court jester in

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the melancholy castle gardens. But the jester soon died and Hamlet did not find friends until many years had passed. Then he clung to Horatio and perhaps to one or two others with all the peculiar tenderness of a romantic and solitary soul. He became a scholar, a wit, and something of a poet. His intellectual faculties grew sharp and mature. But his heart remained the sensitive and astonished heart of a child. He loved Ophelia with a frank tenderness unschooled by wisdom or experience. His cynicism, after the manner of intellectual youth, was all verbal and at second hand. In his innermost soul he held the world, at least his world, to be as gentle, as humane, as proud, as pure as himself.

Then his world crumbled. His father died. His mother's marriage wounded his delicacy to the quick. His first impulse was to take refuge in the studious cloisters of Wittenberg. But his fate was upon him and there is a forlorn pathos in Mr. Sothern's quiet rendition of the line:

"Indeed, indeed, sirs, but this troubles me."

The full horrors sweep down upon him. But Hamlet cannot at once grasp and deal with the enormity of a world so changed and ruined. The habit of long years drives him into the refuge of reticence and silence, and the naturalness of the impulse which bids him suddenly exclude Marcellus and even Horatio from his confidence is beautifully interpreted by Mr. Sothern as arising from the inherent necessities of his nature. He determines to feign madness, which is but another escape for a sensitive soul intolerably wrought upon. Yet the feigning is only for moments. Even in those moments, as during the scene with Polonius, it is tinged by his old irony. He cannot help dropping the mask even before Rosencranz and Guildenstern. And in the great scenes with Ophelia and his mother his cry is that of the stricken idealist who will not endure love in a world where it can lend itself to such uses, nor touch a mother's hand that has been so unspeakably defiled. That is his tragedy, the tragedy of a pure soul whose moral world has been riven beyond mending. He cannot set it right. Traditions and the natural passions counsel revenge. But what will revenge avail? He falls into the profound disillusion of his utterances in the churchyard—old truths that have come home to him and that are so at variance with his great praise of man—and into the recklessness of his own safety that ends his troubled and irreparably broken life.

Such is the character and such the story which Mr. Sothern projects upon the stage. He has lost all consciousness of his audience and all consciousness of himself as in the act of playing a part so famous and difficult. His Hamlet has a virile intellect and a subtle one, but a nature that is all gentleness, courtesy, kindness, and truth. Above all, he is simple at heart. The monologues as Mr. Sothern renders them lose their last tinge of rhetoric. They are impassioned or reflective self-communings, broken by the natural pauses and gestures of a man who is alone with his own soul. In the more intellectual and colloquial passages, such as the prose scene with the players, Mr. Sothern speaks as a man among men. Here Hamlet was bent upon his proper business. But it is the same Hamlet, though driven into a world of thought and action so alien and abhorrent, who uses the subtlety of his mind to confound the courtiers and who becomes his mother's accuser and her reluctant judge. It is in these transitions from mood to mood that Mr. Sothern employs all the delicacy and ripeness of his art. Beneath the irony, the wit, the bitterness, the throttling passions that drive him almost to the verge of madness, there is always heard the deeper ground note of Hamlet's innermost nature—a note of spiritual gentleness and native peace. It is this note that Shakespeare sounds again with such incomparably simple loveliness in those all but final words:

> "Absent thee from felicity a while,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
> To tell my story"—

words that mark fitly to every intelligence and every heart the passing of the "sweet prince" of Horatio's last salutation.

Among the details of Mr. Sothern's technique it is to be remarked that he speaks the verse as verse and yet as authentic human speech. He conveys an impression of complete naturalness while never slurring the iambic pattern of his text. He uses his voice throughout like a man speaking out his insistent thoughts and not, as Shakespearean actors with fine voices are tempted to do, like a musical instrument. His diction is beautifully clear without being over elaborate. One may merely regret that he sticks to the ugly and foolish old habit of improperly sounding the "y" in "my" and "myself." His admirable realism should not have stopped at so annoying a trifle. In his movements and gestures he has equally heeded his author's warning concerning the modesty of nature. He strikes no poses, his mantle falls into no statuesque folds. He gestures very little with his arms, but his hands have the fevered motions of a highly nervous nature under great emotional stress. In brief, his performance is so refreshing and important because it lends to a character which the centuries have overladen with curious thoughts and with the dust of perished mannerisms and traditions a living validity so complete and a reality so immediate that, to one spectator at least, he revived the music of a great poem that had fallen a little silent amid the many noises of life, and brought that almost legendary figure back again into the gloom and glory of the human earth.

L. L.

Art

Hopes and Fears

IT is refreshing to find there are American artists with the courage not merely to criticize existing systems, but to inaugurate a system of their own in justification of their criticism. The new Society of American Painters, Sculptors and Gravers means no secession from the National Academy, no opposition, no hostility to it; many of its most prominent members are National Academicians and Associates. The Society, however, undertakes to do much which the National Academy has left undone. The Academy has long disregarded the rights and interests of a large proportion of its members. It is a body composed of painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects; but the painters have monopolized it. In its exhibitions no space is left for prints, for illustrations, for architectural drawings and models; no recognition is granted to water-color; the present galleries are too small for any adequate display of sculpture. Indeed, thanks to the example set by the Academy, the painters' monopoly in this country has become so complete that in the collection sent to the Luxembourg as representative of American art, and now on exhibition, there is not an example of American engravers and illustrators whose reputation is international, and comparatively little of importance by distinguished American sculptors.

The new society starts out on the broad principle disdained by the Academy. The sculptors and gravers will not be mere figureheads, mere names to round out an impressive head line for its letter-paper and its circulars. They will be exhibitors with the painters, will serve on the hanging committees with the painters, will in every way share the rights and privileges of the painters. The Society has no immediate relations with the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers in London, or with the Paris Society of a somewhat similar name. But at least four of its members—Paul Bartlett, Timothy Cole, Gari Melchers, and Joseph Pennell—belong to the London International; and it is probable that the methods, the management by the artists, the decorative arrangement of exhibitions, and the purely business basis, all characteristic of the English society in its prime, have helped to shape the policy of the American organization, which, eventually, may itself become international. At the Grand Central Institute only, and there within limitations, are the American artist and his work subjected to the test of

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comparison with foreign artists. The Society also proposes not to restrict its exhibitions to New York, but to send them on tour through the country, which the Academy does not do, which has been done only occasionally by smaller groups of artists like the Society of Ten. In France and England there is less call for this sort of touring exhibition, the directors of the provincial museums visiting the large annual exhibitions in London and Paris to select and obtain the best. Here, however, our exhibitions are usually the sport of chance.

Altogether, the new society's programme is practical, a happy innovation, for most people lose their common-sense the minute they concern themselves with art. Our art museums and academies half the time are run by professional men in their leisure hours, or by the amateur, the collector. What the public wants is too often the standard of our exhibitions; the uplifting of the world or the amusement of children, too often their chief end. Art has been the plaything of the benevolent until the medals and prizes dangled before the artist offer opportunities for artistic graft as corrupt as anything in the city politics even of Philadelphia. If the Society can bring back art to a sensible business basis; if it can prove that artists understand their own affairs better than condescending meddlers; if it will open its doors to only the best, without fear or favoritism; if it will shrink from awards and not beg from millionaires the money prizes that have prostituted American art and become a national scandal; if it will not bother to uplift anybody or anything, but devote itself to making fine exhibitions and incidentally selling the work by which its members live, it will do more for the welfare of American art than the Academy has done in all the years of its existence. But the Society's programme is not an easy one to carry out. Any man can play with ideals. It takes the genius to be practical with distinction and success.

N. N.

Books of the Week

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Black, Henry Campbell. The Relation of the Executive Power to Legislation. Princeton University Press. $1.60.—Hall, William H. (editor). Reconstruction in Turkey: A Series of Reports Compiled for the American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief—Weale, B. L. Putnam. The Truth About China and Japan. Dodd, Mead. $2.

SCIENCE

Kellogg, J. H. The Itinerary of a Breakfast. Funk & Wagnalls.

THE WAR

Varenne, Gaston. Deutschland im Weltkriege. Paris: Vuibert.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

De Hevesy, André. Nationalities in Hungary. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

JUVENILE

Dyer, Walter A. Ben, the Battle Horse. Holt. $1.35.—Lavarre, William J. Up the Mazaruni for Diamonds. Marshall Jones. $1.50.—Putnam, Edward Hall. Watty & Co. Macmillan. $1.50.

NATURE AND OUTDOOR LIFE

Holden, George Parker. Streamcraft. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd. $2.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Beers, Henry A. Four Americans: Roosevelt, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whitman. Yale University Press.—Bergengren, Ralph. The Perfect Gentleman. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 75 cents.—Bierstadt, Edward Hale. Dunsany the Dramatist. Revised edition. Little, Brown. $2.—Craig, Edward Gordon. The Theatre—Advancing. Little, Brown. $2.—Cram, Ralph Adams. Walled Towns. Marshall Jones. $1.25.—Franc, Miriam Alice. Ibsen in England. Boston: Four Seas. $2.—Frank, Waldo. Our America. Boni and Liveright. $2.—Grant, Robert. Law and the Family. Scribners. $1.50.—Harrison, Henry Sydnor. When I Come Back. Houghton Mifflin. $1.—Ideals of America. Analyses of the guiding motives of contemporary American life by leaders in various fields of thought and action. Prepared for the City Club of Chicago, 1916-1919. McClurg.—Maeterlinck, Maurice. Mountain Paths. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Dood, Mead. $1.75.—Oldfather, William A., Arthur S. Pease, and Howard V. Canter (editors). Index Verborum quae in Senecae fabulis necnon in Octavia Praetexta reperiuntur. Pars altera et tertia. University of Illinois. $1.50 each.—Sloane, Julia M. The Smiling Hill-Top. Scribners. $1.50.—Taylor, Henry Osborn. Prophets, Poets, and Philosophers of the Ancient World. Macmillan. $1.50.—Wilson, Pearl Cleveland. Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy. Columbia University Press.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Gordy, Wilbur F. The Causes and Meaning of the Great War. Scribners. $1.60.—Molee, Elias. Molee's Wandering. Tacoma, Washington: The Author. 50 cents.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Burr, Amelia Josephine. Hearts Awake. Doran. $1.25.—Claudel, Paul. Tête-D'Or. Translated by John Strong Newberry. Yale University Press. $2.—Frost, Robert. North of Boston. Illustrated by James Chapin. Holt. $6.—Hale, Susan. Inklings for Thinklings. Marshall Jones. $2.—Hamilton, Clayton (editor). The Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero. Letty; His House in Order. Dutton. $2.50.—Mathers, Edward Powys (editor). Coloured Stars. Houghton Mifflin. $1.—Trevelyan, R. C. The Death of Man. London: Allen & Unwin.—Wells, Flora Eleanor (compiler). A Sheaf of Baylor Verse. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY

Basset, William R. When the Workmen Help You Manage. Century.—Duncan, C. S. Commercial Research. Macmillan. $2.25.—Labour and the Peace Treaty. An Examination of Labour Declarations and the Treaty Terms. London: The Labour Party.—Lightbourn, Alberic G. (compiler). Lightbourn's Annual and Commercial Directory of the Virgin Islands of the U. S. A.—MacIver, R. M. Labor in the Changing World. Dutton. $2.—Johnson, F. Ernest. The New Spirit in Industry. Association Press. 75 cents.

MISCELLANEOUS

Sherwood, Elizabeth J., and Painter, Estella E. Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Volume Four. Wilson.

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The Situation in the Ukraine

Kamenets-Podolsk, September 26

FOR several hundred years Russia has meant to the Ukrainian peasant land poverty and exploitation. When he got his land finally, he developed a grim determination to hang on to it. But Skoropadski, who was in league with the Russian proprietors, tried to take the land from him. And so, when the German bayonets departed, Skoropadski fell. Everybody in the Ukraine will tell you that the Ataman would still be in the saddle but for this conflict with the peasants. Then came the Bolsheviki, and began to interfere with the peasants. These Bolsheviki in the Ukraine have been for the most part unorganized bands, guilty of a good deal of rough-shod work. The peasants have, I am convinced, turned against the Bolsheviki because of this interference in rural affairs. Finally comes Denikin, and according to all accounts, tells the peasants that they will have to give back their land, or, what is just as bad, pay for it in full. Petlura says to them: "Keep your land. Pay the state a small annual tax and let it go at that." Hence the peasants stand behind Petlura now. He has come to represent to them the idea of owning the land. It will be very hard for Denikin or anyone else to efface this impression. When I left, Petlura's position, for reasons hereafter set forth, was precarious. By this time he may be wiped out. But the desire of the peasants for land cannot be wiped out, and there will be no peace in the Ukraine till the land question is settled.

What is the nature of Petlura's Government and his power? That is a hard query to answer. In the first place, I can testify that, away from the front, order reigns. In the cities Petlura's forces, or those of bands allied to him, maintain order. In the country districts very little government is needed. The farmer goes ahead with his daily business of reaping his crop and living on the fat of the land. Some months ago, during the ebb and flow of combat between the Ukrainian troops and the Bolsheviki, the peasants plundered most of the Jewish shops in the towns. Now these shops have nothing left to plunder, since the Allied blockade has sealed up the Ukraine as tightly as it sealed up the Soviet Republic of Hungary. The peasant does not, therefore, come to town often, because he does not want any more paper money, and he cannot get any manufactured articles. In the Ukraine, as in much of Middle Europe, the farmer no longer needs the city man; he refuses to send the city man food, and the city man therefore faces starvation. In short, the depopulation of the city, of which we heard so much from Petrograd, and which I remarked in Vienna and elsewhere, continues also in Kamenets-Podolsk.

Quite naturally, Petlura, surrounded by the Bolsheviki and the troops of Denikin, cut off from all supplies and aid, has little time for the regulation and relief of the city population. Bread, which at private sale goes up to 300 rubles a pood, is sold by the Government at about forty Ukrainian rubles. This appears to be the only attempt at regulation. Nothing is done to supply the population with shoes or clothes. Rags and nakedness are common in the towns. A pair of shoes costs 2,000 Ukrainian rubles. But worst of all is the state of sickness and disease. It is not too much to say that about every third person in Kamenets has had typhus. In the other cities the situation is the same. In the army it is even worse. At Vapniark I was with Petlura at a review of a frontier garrison where out of a thousand troops at least 200 had had typhus. Against this epidemic Petlura's Government is quite powerless to make headway. The Ukrainians are condemned to death by the fact that the Entente is backing Denikin. In an interview I had with Petlura he begged that, if only for humanity's sake, the Red Cross would send over a mission to fight typhus. Let me add here that right across the river in Rumania are all the medical supplies necessary, as well as plenty of food with which to feed the dying Ukrainian children. The head of the American Red Cross in Czernowitz, and also the head in Bucharest, had a first impulse to send supplies here. But two American Red Cross delegates have since come from Paris, who say that they will have to go first to the Ukraine to investigate conditions. One of them told me that the Entente had decided to back Denikin, and would do nothing for the Ukrainians in Petlura's territory. In short, far from having any mission to relieve the terrible suffering, they had been sent merely to report on how near Petlura was to breaking down. The same policy which drove Vienna to the brink of revolution, delivered Hungary into the arms of the Soviet, and the Soviet into the arms of the Rumanians, is being exercised on the Ukrainians in favor of the reactionary Denikin.

Outside of the sugar factories and the land question, no serious economic problem now faces the Government. The great industrial establishments at Ekaterinoslav and Nikolaev are not in its hands. The Department of Agriculture is now working out a sort of land registration and census, in order to be able to regulate the apportionment of lands. The scheme is very wise and complex, but for the present the Government has not the power to force a general rearrangement of land holdings. Finances are very muddled. There have been enormous issues of paper money, amounting to billions. Also the Government has not been able to put the Czarist, Kerensky, or even Bolshevist ruble entirely out of circulation. The Government actually has on hand 10,000,000 poods of sugar and a quantity of spirit, which if the Entente would permit, might be exported to reëstablish the value of the paper currency. That part of the Ukraine under Petlura's control also has this year an exportable crop of grain of more than 30,000,000 poods. There must be export in order to raise the Ukrainian ruble from its present rate of about 120 rubles to the dollar. Again the appeal is for a lifting of the blockade by the Entente.

Petlura's territory is not very large, perhaps one-quarter of what he claims as the Ukraine. It is bounded on the west by Bessarabia, Bukowina, and Eastern Galicia. The Eastern boundary, when I first arrived, ran from Zhitomir in the north within a short distance of Kiev, through Fastov, down through Balta and southeastward of Kiev, where it lost itself in the marsh of partisan fighting with Bolsheviki above Odessa. On the north the line ran from the Polish frontier through south-

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ern White Russia, Novgorod-Wolinsk, southerly to Zhitomir. On the south, Petlura's domain faded away in hopes of reaching the Black Sea. This territory is not very large. But compared to what Petlura had last spring, a territory near the Rumanian frontier about as big as a pocket handkerchief, it is truly regal. The gains have been very large, although involving the loss of any present prospect of winning Eastern Galicia.

This territory Petlura holds with an army that is estimated at about 100,000 men. I think this number a bit exaggerated. In addition to this regular army there has been organized in a rather thorough way a force fully as large of peasant bands throughout the country. I met the head of one of these bodies, a man whose pseudonym was Sirchow, and who had enrolled more than 25,000 peasants under him. Consciously or unconsciously, men like Sirchow are developing modern Cossack bands to resist the invader. It is these irregulars who proved the most dangerous adversaries of the Bolsheviki, and who are now rising up in Denikin's path.

Petlura's army consists of two distinct elements. The first of these is the remains of the army which fought so heroically in Eastern Galicia. This army still has its own officers and generals, is well-disciplined and tough, and, considering Ukrainian circumstances, fairly well equipped. There may be as many as 25,000 of these troops. The remainder of his army is not of the quality of these Galicians. It is, in the first place, poorly equipped. I was with him when he reviewed about nine divisions, in various parts of the front. This means, in his army's present state of depletion, about 45,000 men. The best division we saw was stationed at Vapniark. About 1,000 men paraded for us. Of these at least one-third had no shoes. A much larger proportion had only very ragged clothes. There were practically no uniforms. A rifle was in every soldier's hands, but not all had bayonets. Cartridges were very short. A small detachment of cavalry formed part of the regiment. There was also a machine-gun corps. Only lately Petlura has commenced mobilization by conscription.

On the eve of my leaving I interviewed Petlura, whose situation then looked precarious. It was the second time I had had a long talk with him. I shall summarize these two conversations, because they represent pretty well the popular point of view. Remember Petlura is a politician and keeps his ear close to the ground.

"Yes, we were beaten by the Bolsheviki at Zhitomir, and, together with the Poles, at Novgorod-Wolinsk and Korostyn. Meanwhile, Denikin is beginning his heralded advance in the south. We have been forced to divide our forces. We might have been the best means in the hands of the Entente for driving the Bolsheviki back into Russia. But, for reasons of their own, the Great Powers back Denikin against us and so split up our joint strength. It almost seems as if the Entente does not want to beat the Bolsheviki, whom we have been fighting for more than a year. We have never made any compromise with them, despite their offers to us. The Ukrainian peasant wants his country's independence, both from Great Russian Bolshevist and Great Russian reactionary. We have had enough of Great Russia, which has always meant the exploitation of our peasants. I do not now contemplate the possibility of establishment of a Federated Russia. First we must establish separately our inalienable right to independence, then in quite a natural way may come a federation of White Russia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Ukraine, Kuban, the Don Cossacks, Georgia, etc. We have been terribly misrepresented abroad as Bolsheviki. We are not that, but a land of peasant proprietors, the strongest imaginable bulwark of a petty bourgeoisie. Why does not the Entente drive Denikin against Moscow, instead of against the Ukraine? We would join him and, at any rate, secure his rear. But while we fight him, and we will fight him, the Bolsheviki will regain the initiative and all will be lost. That will not dismay us. We had hardly anything left last year, and now see how we have grown. The fight will go on indefinitely. We do not ask for any gratuitous help from the Allies. We only want our frontiers opened so that we can trade our products for manufactured articles and equipment. Let them open Odessa. We do not ask them to pour in supplies free of charge to us as they do to Denikin. And above all, for the sake of humanity, why won't they let us have some medicines? I beg of you to explain to the American people how we stand. I am sure they will in that case not fail to respond."

HENRY G. ALSBERG.

Documents

For Industrial Democracy in Norway

A COMMISSION appointed by the Norwegian national organization of labor unions and the Socialist party to investigate the participation of workmen in industrial management has just issued its report recommending the establishment of industrial councils. The report is of interest, because of the great strength of the Socialist party in Norway and the prevalence even outside of the party ranks of theories similar to those formulated by the Socialists. A Government commission is at present actively engaged in making investigations along the same lines as the Socialist commission. The report of the Socialist commission, translated from *Morgenbladet* (Christiania) of September 6, is as follows:

Plan for the Establishment and Activity of Industrial Councils

1. Formation and activities. Industrial councils shall be established in all concerns employing as many as ten persons, particularly in those carrying on manufacturing, trade, transportation, and commerce.

2. Membership of council. The council shall consist of three members in concerns employing not over fifty persons, five members for those employing between fifty and 100, seven members for those employing between 100 and 200, and nine members for those employing more than 200 persons.

The composition of the council shall be such as to represent the various branches and the different trades and professions within each concern. Professional and clerical workers and manual laborers shall be represented according to number, and each of the two groups must have at least one representative. Mercantile and technical experts shall be represented.

3. Election. The council shall be elected by all the wage-earners, including professional and clerical workers as well as manual laborers. The election shall be by secret ballot and shall be held at the place of employment.

It is the duty of the council to call together all those entitled to vote when an election is to be held or other important measures are up for consideration, and in general when as many as ten per cent. of the voters desire it. The meeting can recall any representative and elect another in his place by a simple majority.

The council shall be elected for a year and shall choose its own chairman.

4. Duties of the council. It shall be the duty of the council to care for the interests of employees and to work toward the socialization of industry.

The council shall demand for the workingmen the right to elect their own foreman, and for the council the right to exert an influence on the appointment of persons in administrative positions, heads of offices, engineers, managers, and inspectors.

The council shall demand the right to influence the management and distribution of the work, the purchase and utilization of machinery.

The council shall also care for the interests of the consumers by keeping the quality of production on a high level.

The council shall see to it that the place of employment and the plan of work are arranged in a manner satisfactory to the workers. It shall also look after the conditions of housing and maintenance of workers.

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BEREA LEAGUE COLLEGE
BEREA, OHIO

The council shall have the right to be informed of the business and technical management of the company and shall have access to its books.

The council shall exercise the right of mediation in cases of dispute between individual employees and managers, and shall have the right to intervene in the case of unmerited discharge of employees.

The council must insist on having its activity as a whole and its individual decisions respected by the employers and the management. If necessary it shall seek the support of the labor unions.

5. Meetings and elections. The council shall demand that a suitable meeting place be put at its disposal for meetings of the council, elections, and other meetings of the employees of the concern.

The industrial council shall meet every two weeks and whenever called by the chairman or by two of its members. All the proceedings of every meeting must be entered in a protocol. The individual members of the council must not act alone, but must bring every case before the council. In all negotiations with the management the council shall be represented by its chairman or by a member chosen for the purpose.

Decisions shall be made by a simple majority vote. In cases of a tie, the chairman shall cast the deciding vote.

A Letter from Prince Kropotkin to Georg Brandes

IN view of the well-known pro-Ally and anti-Bolshevist sentiments of Prince Kropotkin, the following letter protesting against Allied intervention in Russia, which appeared in *l'Humanité* of October 10, is of particular interest. It was addressed to the distinguished Danish writer, Georg Brandes, who received it after a delay of many months.

DEAR FRIEND: At last I have an opportunity to write you, and I hasten to profit by it without being sure, however, that this letter will reach you.

Both of us thank you from our hearts for the brotherly interest which you have taken in your old friend since the rumor spread that I had been arrested. That rumor was absolutely false, as was also the talk about the state of my health.

The person who will deliver this letter to you will tell you of the isolated life which we lead in our little provincial town. At my age it is physically impossible to take part in public affairs during a revolution, and to take part as an amateur is not in my nature. During the past winter, which we spent at Moscow, I worked with a group of collaboraters in outlining the elements of a federal republic. But the group had to break up, and I have returned to a work on ethics which I began fifteen years ago in England.

All that I can do now is to give you a general idea of the situation in Russia, which in my opinion is not correctly understood in the West. An analogy will perhaps explain what I mean.

We are at this moment going through what France experienced during the Jacobin revolution, from September, 1792, to July, 1794, with this addition, that now it is a social revolution that seeks its way.

The dictatorial method of the Jacobins was false. It was not able to create a stable organization and it necessarily led to the reaction. And yet the Jacobins accomplished in June, 1793, the abolition of the feudal rights begun in 1789, which neither the Constituent Assembly nor the Legislative Assembly had been able to achieve. And they nobly proclaimed the political equality of all citizens. Two immense fundamental changes which in the course of the nineteenth century were accomplished all over Europe.

An analogous thing has happened in Russia. The Bolsheviki strive to introduce by the dictatorship of a fraction of the Social Democratic party the socialization of the soil, of industry, and of commerce. This change which they labor to accomplish is the fundamental principle of socialism. Unhappily, the method by which they seek to impose, in a strongly centralized state, a communism resembling that of Babeuf—and thereby paralyzing the constructive work of the people—that method makes success absolutely impossible, and is paving the way to a furious and vicious reaction. This reaction is already seeking to organize itself in order to bring back the old régime, profiting by the general exhaustion produced, first by the war, then by the famine which we suffer in Central Russia, and by the complete disorganization of exchange and of production inevitable in such a vast revolution accomplished by decrees.

They speak in the West of restoring "order" in Russia by an armed intervention of the Allies. Ah well, dear friend, you know how criminal towards all social progress in Europe was, in my opinion, the attitude of those who worked to disorganize the Russian power of resistance—which prolonged the war by a year, gave us a German invasion under cover of a treaty, and cost seas of blood to prevent conquering Germany from crushing Europe under its imperial boot. You know well my feelings with regard to that.

And nevertheless I protest with all my strength against every kind of armed intervention of the Allies in Russian affairs. That intervention would result in an increase of Russian chauvinism. It would restore over us a chauvinist monarchy—we see the signs of it already—and, note this well, it produces in the mass of Russian people a hostile attitude towards Western Europe—an attitude which will have the saddest consequences. The Americans have already grasped this very well.

People imagine, perhaps, that in supporting Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin they support a liberal, republican party. But that is a mistake. Whatever may be the personal intentions of these two military chiefs, the greater number of those grouped around them have other views. What they will necessarily bring us will be a return of the monarchy, reaction, and rivers of blood.

Those of the Allies who see clearly into events ought then to repudiate all armed intervention. Moreover, if they really wish to come to the aid of Russia they will find a tremendous amount to do in another direction. We lack bread in all the immense territory of the Central and Northern provinces. To procure at Moscow or here at Dmitrov, a pound of black rye bread, in addition to the pound or quarter of a pound per person, delivered by the state at the very high but relatively modest price of one ruble, 60 kopeks per pound (once this represented four francs)—it is necessary to pay from twenty-five to thirty rubles (sixty-two to seventy-five francs) per pound of 450 grams. And yet it is not to be found! We have the famine with all its consequences. A whole generation withers away. And we are refused the right of buying bread in the West! Why? Is it to restore a Romanov over us?

Everywhere in Russia we lack manufactured articles. The peasant pays extravagant prices for a scythe, a hatchet, a few nails, a needle, a yard of any stuff whatever,—a thousand rubles (once this equalled 2,500 francs) for the four iron wheels of a wretched Russian cart. In the Ukraine it is worse yet. Merchandise cannot be had there for any price. Instead of playing the rôle which Austria, Prussia, and Russia played in 1793 towards France, the Allies should do everything to aid the Russian people to emerge from this terrible situation. Besides, oceans of blood would have to be spilled to make the Russian people return to the past—it could never be accomplished.

It is to build a new future by the constructive elaboration of a new life—whose outlines, in spite of everything, may already be discerned—that the Allies should assist us. Come without delay to the aid of our children. Come to our aid in the necessary constructive work. And for that purpose send us not diplomats and generals, but bread, the tools for its production, and organizers, who have known so well during these terrible five years how to aid the Allies to fight economic disorgani-

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zation, and to repel the barbaric invasion of the Germans.

I think I should end this letter which is already too long. I do so, embracing you fraternally.

PETER KROPOTKIN,
Dmitrov, Government of Moscow, April 28, 1919.

A Menshevist Protest against Intervention

THE Siberian organizations of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party have addressed to the labor organizations of Allied countries the following appeal against intervention in Siberia:

To all Socialist and Labor Parties, Trade Unions, and other Labor Organizations of the United States, England, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, Rumania, Italy, and Serbia:

Siberia is in the clutches of a monstrous tyranny of the military bands of the atamans Kalmykov, Semenov, Krasylnikov, Annenkov, and Admiral Kolchak, who are bleeding it white. The country, the desire for whose liberation was protested with a flood of hypocritical tears, is languishing under the yoke of an unheard-of reaction. The liberties which were won in February of 1917 have been suppressed. The article on *lèse majesté* of the Czar's Code of Laws has been revived.

The laboring masses and peasants live under the constant threat of execution without trial or inquiry. Throughout Siberia whole villages are destroyed by artillery fire, in accord with the best usages of military art. Ceaselessly the whip lashes in the hands of the reactionaries, who are drunk with power and who are openly striving to establish "a Czar and order." Whole villages are burned down; workmen, Bolsheviki and non-Bolsheviki, are flogged. The reactionaries, who have become brutalized and lost every semblance of humanity, have revived medieval executions—the burning at the stake of persons whom they believe to be opponents of the existing autocratic rule. Telegraph poles of the Siberian Railway, which is under the control of an inter-Allied commission and is guarded by Allied troops, are used as gallows. With the assistance of Allied troops "order" is being established in the country—the order of cemeteries.

The Government of the Supreme Ruler, Admiral Kolchak, who is hypocritically babbling of the convocation of a National Assembly while actually executing members of the Constituent Assembly, is postponing the convocation of even a National Assembly for the day after the resurrection of the dead. He is actually ruling as an autocrat, appointing, on the basis of the old, Czaristic laws, governor-generals with unlimited power, who are openly issuing orders "to shoot on the spot," without trial or inquiry, the opponents of the existing autocratic rule and even the hostages, who are taken from the peaceful population.

Brothers in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat and of all humanity! The sense of our duty to the working class, which we represent, and the consciousness of responsibility to history and to the Revolution impels us, though we risk becoming the victims of intense persecution, to address this appeal to you and to tell you what is the situation and what is happening under the banners of Supreme Ruler Kolchak, who is carrying on an armed struggle against the Soviet rule, against the government of Lenin, which we have considered and still consider the greatest misfortune for the Russian proletariat.

Brothers! The Governments of your countries have here, in Siberia, their plenipotentiaries and their armed detachments for the alleged purpose of fighting the Bolshevist tyranny. By their presence here they either silently sanction all the violations of right and humanity, or help the Siberian reactionary camarilla to suppress Russian freedom. To the passionate appeal of the Central Committee of our party, which we fully approve, we add one more desire: start a campaign in favor of sending to Siberia a commission of honest labor representatives. Let them here on the spot find out for themselves the truth of our assertions. It is high time that the bloody fraud, which the representatives of your Governments are perpetrating on the civilized world, be exposed.

Down with the imperialistic suppressors of Russian freedom! Down with the tyranny of military castes! Long live the international labor movement! Forward, to Socialism!

The Bureau of the Siberian Organizations of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

In the Path of the Kolchak Retreat

A HELSINGFORS dispatch appearing in *l'Humanité* of August 26 gave the following text of a proclamation by the Russian Council of People's Commissars, the terms of which were to be applied in the regions abandoned by Kolchak.

1. Kolchak, former Admiral of the Czar, who proclaims himself "supreme ruler" and who has under his orders a "council of ministers" is proclaimed an enemy of the people and is outlawed;
2. All the proclamations or laws, all the decrees or *prikazes* emanating from Kolchak or his lieutenants are annulled;
3. All the acts of sale or purchase, contracts or treaties, and all concessions concluded by Kolchak, his ministers or his lieutenants are annulled;
4. Likewise all treaties, agreements, concessions, or contracts concluded between Kolchak and the governments of foreign powers desirous of enriching themselves at the expense of the Russian people, are declared null and void;
5. The rights of the various populations are not to be in any way curtailed; the land and its improvements shall pass to the community;
6. The money issued by the Soviet Government shall resume its value, at the same rate as in European Russia.
7. The various peoples of Siberia may shape for themselves and regulate their own internal and foreign affairs, as the Ukrainians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the inhabitants of White Russia, the Tartars, the Bashkirs, and Kalmuks have done.

The President of the Central Pan-Russian Executive Committee,
KALININ.
The President of the Council of People's Commissars,
OULIANOV-LENIN.

Against the Peace Terms to Bulgaria

A GROUP of publicists in England having an intimate knowledge of the Balkan situation, has issued the following protest against the peace terms offered to Bulgaria by the Allies:

The peace terms offered to Bulgaria, which completely disregard the principle of self-determination, do not appear to us to offer any permanent solution of the Balkan question.

The inhabitants of central and southern Macedonia are mainly Bulgarians, those of the southern Dobrudja are Bulgarians and Moslems, and those of Western Thrace are mainly Moslems; yet all or the greater part of these provinces are apparently to be handed over to Serbia, Rumania, and Greece.

Bulgaria is the only Balkan State in which large numbers of Moslems have remained, contented with their local autonomy, and loyal subjects of the government, since the liberation of the country from Ottoman rule. Representatives of the Bulgarian Moslems in the National Assembly have recently declared that, notwithstanding Greek reports to the contrary, they prefer Bulgarian to Greek or Rumanian rule.

In 1913 the unjust terms of the Treaty of Bucharest were excused by the fact that the Bulgarians had committed atrocities during the Balkan war, and the injustice of the present

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terms is now excused on similar grounds. After the Treaty of Bucharest, however, impartial investigation by the Carnegie Commission proved that the behavior of some of the enemies of Bulgaria had been even worse, and it is by no means impossible that another inquiry might have the same result as before.

The appeal now made by Bulgaria for impartial investigation, both as to the charge of atrocities, and as to the desires of the population, is undeniably just. Such inquiry, moreover, would furnish the only possible foundation of a settlement that is to be lasting.

H. N. Brailsford
Noel Buxton
M. E. Durham
A. G. Gardiner
G. P. Gooch
Paul Miliukov
Henry W. Nevinson
H. M. Wallis

Foreign Press

Finland and Russia

GENERAL MANNERHEIM'S designs for a Finnish invasion of Russia are censured by Commander Harold Grenfell, of the British navy, in the following letter, which we reprint from *The Manchester Guardian* of October 15:

Sir: *The Times* of 7th October publishes an interview with General Mannerheim, ex-Regent of Finland, and in its leading article of the same date attempts to draw certain conclusions therefrom, the most important being that Mr. Lloyd George should authorize the Finnish nation to declare war upon Soviet Russia and march on Petrograd, in the name of rendering an invaluable service to the peace of the world.

The General has made public in *The Times* that which he shared only with his closest friends at home, although it was no secret to those who followed events in Helsingfors and were acquainted with the character of this amiable *beau sabreur*. Indeed, although he never dared to proclaim this part of his policy openly, he was so universally suspected of wishing to drag his country into supporting him in the rôle of military adventurer that it may safely be said this was a chief reason of his very ignominious defeat as candidate for first President of the new Republic. And for all that he says about this policy enjoying the support of a very large part of the Finnish people, he certainly had all the time irrevocably against him on general grounds the whole of the Social Democratic party, forming at least one complete half of the nation. Of the remaining half, with which he enjoyed a very great personal popularity on account of his successful leadership of the forces of their side in last year's civil war, the more sensible majority, that is to say practically all—except the tiny reactionary monarchic faction, the newly formed officer caste, and the war profiteers—could estimate the dangers, internal and external, likely to follow from attacking Soviet Russia, and knew them to be so great that they thought the risk too high a price to pay. In consequence, their representatives in the Diet voted for the Progressive candidate, Stohlberg, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The eighty Socialist members, whose sole immediate aim was to get rid of Mannerheim at the cost of almost any present political concession, voted for him also, with the result that on July 25 last General Mannerheim received only fifty to Judge Stohlberg's 143 votes in a newly elected Diet of 200 seats.

Partly in order to ease the bitterness of this blow to his *amour propre*, the new President then offered General Mannerheim the position of Commander-in-Chief of the army. But the ex-Regent declined except upon conditions, which were, first, that as Commander-in-Chief he must be allowed a perfectly free hand without Cabinet control; and secondly, that an expedition against Petrograd must be attempted. It is clear that the new President did not think that he would have the great part of his countrymen behind him in such an event, whilst the former condition was plainly an insult to constitutional government. The conditions, naturally, were refused, Mannerheim retired into private obscurity, and his pawns in the Ministry, the Prime Minister and Minister of War, resigned. So far from this being against popular wishes, Finland really breathed a sigh of relief, and Mr. Stohlberg re-formed his Cabinet without the slightest trouble or sign of political disturbance.

Certainly, there is a small, dangerous "activist" clique in Finland that hopes and tries to keep him restless. This is formed of the extremest reactionaries under the old régime, the friends of the Russian connection under the German military occupation last year of German Imperialism, and this year of the "Black Hundred," *émigré* Russians and the Baltic barons. These hate the new Finnish Constitution, and are intriguing to get Mannerheim back into some position where his military popularity can be exploited and a situation created that, with the help of the younger and more hot-headed elements of the officers' corps and of the notorious "White Guard," will give them the chance to raise the cry of "The State in danger," and by a *coup d'état* put in the popular "White" General as military dictator preparatory to a mad attempt to set up a monarchy. It is to further this prudent, far-sighted, and democratic scheme that *The Times* now tries to exploit our ignorance of Finnish affairs and calls upon a British Prime Minister to order Finland to declare war upon a third Power; not, apparently, seeing or caring to see the insulting implication of vassalage that all patriotic Finns will at once read into this extraordinary exhortation. . . .

AN account of a speech made by Admiral Kolchak to the Allied Representatives at Omsk, including Mr. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, was published in *The Russian Economist* for July 28. The Admiral severely censured the indecisive and vacillating policy of the Allies with regard to the Omsk Government up to that time. Their support was, he declared, considerably weaker than he had been led to expect it would be when at an extremely critical period he had taken over the supreme power of Russia. Unless he could count on definite and immediate aid, not only in the matter of foodstuffs and ammunition, but also of finance, he would not be responsible for the future of Russia. In reply the British and French representatives, and later the American and Japanese, agreed that further procrastination was out of the question. Accordingly, they promised to provide the additional supplies demanded by Admiral Kolchak, and decided immediately to negotiate a substantial loan to the Omsk Government.

SEVERAL articles from *The Japan Chronicle* point to continuous unrest and rebellion against Japanese rule in Korea. A dispatch of September 22 states that "Seoul and the provinces of Korea continue to be quiet. Agitators now seem to be making efforts to incite the people to fresh outbreaks. Secret seditious publications are still circulated throughout the country." On October 5, *The Chronicle* quotes an article from *Asahi*, a paper printed in the Korean language, which severely criticises the colonization policy of the Japanese Government, and protests vigorously against the Oriental Colonization Company, which is bringing Japanese immigrants into Korea, and seizing large tracts of land from the Koreans with the obvious intention of driving out the native settlers. Although nominally a company, this organization is believed to be directly under the control of the Japanese Government. An editorial of the same date mentions the fact that when, on the occasion of the celebration, on October 1, of the annexation of Korea to Japan, the Koreans closed their shops and refused to take part in the festivity, the police forced the shop-keepers to open their doors again. *The Chronicle* remarks: "Whether being ordered to open shop by a Japanese policeman will have the desired effect of impressing the Koreans with the sincerity of the intentions of the new régime is not quite clear."

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